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The SPEECH *of* JOHN WILKES, *esquire, lord mayor of* LONDON, *in the* HOUSE *of* COMMONS, *on lord* NORTH'S *motion for an address to his* MAJESTY *against the* AMERICANS.

MR. SPEAKER,

THE business now before the house, respecting America, is of as great importance as was ever debated in parliament. It comprehends almost every question relative to the common rights of mankind, almost every question of policy and legislation. I do not mean to enter into so vast, so well trodden a field; I will confine myself to the business before us. The address now reported from the committee of the whole house appears to me unfounded, rash, and sanguinary, and most unjustly to draw the sword against America; but before administration are suffered to plunge this nation in the horrors of a civil war, before they are permitted to force Englishmen to sheath their swords in the bowels of their fellow subjects, I hope this house will seriously weigh the original ground and cause of this unhappy dispute, and, in time, reflect whether justice is on our side. The right of *taxation*, assumed *without the consent of the subject*, is plainly the primary cause of the present quarrel. Have we, sir, any right to tax the Americans? That is the question. The fundamental laws of human nature, and the principles of the English constitution, are equally repugnant to the claim. The very idea of property excludes the right of another's taking any thing from me without my consent, otherwise I cannot call it my own. What property have I in what another person can seize at his pleasure? If we can tax the Americans without their consent, they have no property, nothing which they can call their own, we might take their all. The words LIBERTY and PROPERTY, so dear to an Englishman, so pleasing to our ears, would become mockery and insult to an American.

The laws of society are professedly calculated to secure the property of each individual, of every subject of the state. The great principles of the constitution, under which we live, likewise clearly determine this point. All subsidies to the crown are grants from the commons, free gifts from the people. Their full consent is always expressed in the grant. Much has been said of the palatinate of Chester and the principality of Wales, and the period of their taxation; but, sir, there is a more remarkable case in point, which alone would determine the question. If gentlemen will search the records in the Tower, they will find that the town of Calais, in France, when it belonged to the imperial crown of these realms, was not taxed till it sent representatives to parliament. Two burgesses from Calais actually sat and voted in this house. Then, and not till then, was Calais taxed. The writ out of chancery, and the return to it, in the reign of Edward VI. with the names of the burgesses, are still extent. I faithfully gave them to the public from attested copies.

But, sir, it will be said, is America then to enjoy the protection of Great Britain, and to contribute nothing towards the support of that very state, which has so long given it protection and security, which has nursed it up to its present greatness? The Americans themselves have given the fullest answer to this objection, in a manner not to be controverted, by their conduct through a long series of years, and by the most explicit declarations. Equally in words and actions, of the most unequivocal nature, they have demonstrated their love, their ardour, and their strong filial piety, towards their mother country. They have always appeared ready, not only to contribute towards the expences of their own government, but likewise to the wants and the necessities of this state, although perhaps they may not be over fond of all the proud, expensive trappings, of royalty. In the two last wars they far exceeded the cold line of prudence: With the most liberal hearts, they gave you almost their all; and they fought gallantly by your side, with equal valour, against our and their enemy, against the common enemy to mankind, the ambitious and faithless French, whom we now fear and flatter. Our journals, sir, will bear witness to the grateful sense we had of the important services of the Americans, and the great sums we voted to be repaid them for what they expended in the spirited expeditions, which they carried through with equal courage and conduct, sometimes without the least knowledge or participation on our part, will demonstrate the warm affection of their hearts to this country.

But, sir, the whole was the gift of freemen, of fellow subjects, who feel that they are, and know that they have a right to be, as free as ourselves. What is their language now, when you are planning their destruction, when you are declaring them rebels? In the late petition of the general congress to the king they declare, "they are ready and willing, as they ever have been, when constitutionally required, to demonstrate their loyalty to his majesty, by exerting their most strenuous efforts in granting supplies and raising forces." This is the unanimous resolution of a congress composed of deputies from the several colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and Providence plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and the two Carolinas.

I have heard, sir, of a plan of accommodation, which, I believe, would reconcile all differences; but, alas! sir, it does not come from any servant of the crown; it comes from the noble lord, to whom this country has the most essential obligations, and is so much indebted for its late splendour and glory: It is to assemble another congress in the spring, under the authority of the parliament of Great Britain, the deputies of the several colonies to meet together, and to be jointly empowered to regulate the various quotas to be paid by each province to the general treasury of the whole empire. I would, in addition to that plan, propose that a regulation, similar to what actually takes place with respect to Scotland, be adopted as to America. The proportion of each colony might be settled according to the land tax in England, at one, two, or more shillings, in the pound. I am not deep politician enough to know what the proportions should be of each province, and they will vary greatly in half a century, but I speak of their quota being always to be regulated according to the land tax of this country. The very flourishing colonies of the Massachusetts Bay, Virginia, and South Carolina, for instance, should contribute more, the smaller and poorer colonies of New Hampshire and New Jersey less; but, sir, I insist not a single shilling can be taken without their consent. And after this day's debate, should the address be carried, I greatly fear every idea of a reconciliation will be utterly impracticable.

The Americans, sir, have of late, both within doors and without, been treated with the greatest injustice, and even a wanton degree of cruelty. An honourable gentleman has just told us that they complain of the *navigation act*, and insist on its repeal. We have authentic evidence to the contrary. In the resolutions of the congress they repeatedly desire to be put only on the footing they were *at the close of the late war*, "as to the system of statutes and regulations;" nor among the various acts, of which they desire the repeal, do they once mention either the *navigation* or the *declaratory act*. It is said likewise, they wish to throw off the supremacy of this country.

Many express resolutions, both of the general congress and the provincial congresses, are the fullest evidence of the sense which the Americans entertain of their obedience and duty to this country. They are too numerous to be quoted. Their full claim, as stated by themselves, is so well worded, that I beg to read it to the house, from their petition to the king: "We ask but for peace, liberty, "and safety." Surely, sir, no request was ever more reasonable, no claim better founded. "We ask not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit a "grant of any new right in our favour. Your royal prerogative over us, and our "connection with Great Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously en- "deavour to support and maintain," while administration are endeavouring to tear asunder those ties which have so long and happily bound us together.

The address, sir, mentions the particular province of Massachusetts Bay as in a state of actual rebellion, and the other provinces are considered as aiding and abetting them. Much has been said, by some learned gentlemen, to involve them in all the consequences of a declared rebellion, and to encourage our officers and troops to act against them as against rebels. Whether their present state is that of rebellion, or of a fit and proper resistance to unlawful acts of power, to our attempts to rob them of their property and liberties, as they imagine, I do not determine. This I know, a successful resistance is a revolution, not a rebellion. Who can tell, sir, whether, in consequence of this very day's violent and mad address to his majesty, the scabbard may not be thrown away by them as well as by us? And should success attend them, whether, in a few years, the Americans may not celebrate the glorious æra of the revolution in 1775 as we do that of 1688? Success crowned the generous efforts of our forefathers for freedom, else they had died on the scaffold as traitors and rebels, and the period of our history, which does us the most honour, would have been deemed *rebellion* against lawful authority, not a resistance authorized by all the laws of God and man, not the expulsion of a tyrant.

The policy, sir, of this measure I can no more comprehend than I can acknowledge the justice of it. Is your force adequate to the attempt? I am satisfied it is not. What are your armies, and how are they to be recruited? Do you recollect that the single province of the Massachusetts Bay has at this moment above 30,000 men, well trained and disciplined, and can bring near 90,000 into the field? They will do it when they are fighting for their liberties. You will not be able to conquer and keep even that single province. The noble lord proposes only 10,000 of our troops to be there, including the four regiments now going from Ireland; and he acknowledges, very truly, that the army cannot enforce the late acts of parliament. Why then is it sent? Boston, indeed, you may lay in ashes, or it may be made a strong garrison; but the province will be lost to you. Boston will be like Gibraltar: You will hold in the province of Massachusetts Bay, as you do in Spain, a single town, the whole country in the power and possession of the enemy. Your fleets and armies may keep a few towns on the coast, for some time at least; Boston, New York, St. Augustine. The vast continent of America will be lost to you. A few fortresses on the coast, and some sea ports only, will you keep; all the back settlements will be independent of you, will thrive in the rapid progression of your violences and unjust exactions on the towns. The ancient story of the Carthaginian hide will be verified as to you. Where you tread, it will be kept down, but it will rise the more in all the other parts; where your fleets and armies are stationed, the possession will be yours, but all the rest will be lost. I fear from this day, in the great scale of empire, you will decline, and the Americans will rise to independence, to power, to all the greatness of the most renowned states; for they build on the solid basis of public liberty.

Sir, this address is founded in injustice and cruelty; it is equally contrary to the sound maxims of true policy, and to the unerring rule of natural right. The Americans will defend their property and their liberties with the spirit of freemen; with the spirit, I hope, we should. They will sooner declare themselves independent, and risk every consequence of such a contest, than submit to the yoke which administration is preparing for them. An address of so sanguinary a nature cannot fail of driving them to despair. They will see that you are preparing not only to draw the sword, but to burn the scabbard. You are declaring them rebels. Every idea of a reconciliation will vanish. They will pursue the most vigorous measures in their own defence. The whole continent will be dismembered from Great Britain, and *the wide arch of the raised empire fall*. But I hope the just vengeance of the people will overtake the authors of these pernicious counsels, and the loss of the first province to the empire be speedily followed by the loss of the heads of those ministers who advised these wicked and fatal measures.

LONDON, *March* 3.

YESTERDAY their majesties came from Buckingham House to Saint James's, where there was a court and drawing room, which was over at four o'clock, when their majesties returned to the queen's palace to dinner.

His majesty yesterday morning took an airing on horseback in Hide Park, and returned to the queen's house at eleven o'clock, and at noon their majesties went to Saint James's,

After the drawing room was over yesterday at Saint James's, the lords Gower, Denbigh, Suffolk, Darthmouth, Falmouth, and Barrington, had a conference with his majesty.

Yesterday colonel Wynyard kissed his majesty's hand at Saint James's on his late promotion.

Yesterday there was a board of admirality at the office Charing Cross.

Yesterday the house of peers broke up at twenty minutes before five o'clock, and adjourned till this day.

The mutiny bill was read a third time yesterday in the upper assembly, and passed.

There were sixteen petitions for private bills presented yesterday to the upper house.

This day the house of commons will meet, pursuant to the adjournment on Wednesday last.

The furher consideration of the American papers stands adjourned for this day in the house of commons.

The committee of ways and means, and committee of supply, stand likewise for this day in the lower house,

The last accounts from New York have flung the patriots on their backs, and it is now imagined that the different plans of the premier, which are intended to be put into execution, will meet with little or no opposition.

A correſpondent aſks, how the preſent meaſures can be reconciled with the well known piety of one great officer, the profeſſed benevolence of another, the good ſenſe of a third, and the timidity of the ----.

In the reign of queen Elizabeth a ſcrutiny was made into the number of inhabitants in the city of London, and its environs, but though there were found to be 1498 people of different nations interſperſed amongſt the natives of England, no more than 63 Scotchmen had at that period paſſed the Tweed.

A correſpondent informs us, as a proof of the vaſt encreaſe of money in this kingdom, that the celebrated Alfred gave only one hundred pounds to his daughters, either for marriage portion or proviſion; ſo empty were the royal coffers in his day of power, ſplendor, and reputation.

Nothing can be a greater proof of the underſtanding, humanity, and feeling of a great perſonage, as well as his great affection for the meaneſt of his ſubjects, than his forming and promoting a ſcheme for preventing inſolvent debtors from ſtarving and rotting in a loathſome priſon. Nothing, ſurely, can be ſo unnatural and barbarous as to confine a fellow creature in a ſtinking gaol, without the neceſſaries of life, for no other reaſon than becauſe he is unfortunate. Is this becoming a chriſtian and an inhabitant of a civilized nation? No, ſurely, for ſuch barbarity cannot be equalled by the moſt ſavage people in the world. The puniſhment inflicted on a murderer is mercy when compared to this, for a period is ſoon put to his miſery; but that of the poor debtor is almoſt endleſs. It is evident, that, if mercileſs creditors were deprived of the power of exerciſing ſuch cruelty over their debtors, the number of each would, in a ſhort time, be very inſignificant. The conſequence of which would be, that honeſty and induſtry would be more prevailing than at preſent, for none but ſuch would connections be formed out of. The poor would not have it in their power then to pave the way to a priſon by running in debt; artful villains would not be tempting the unſuſpicious to their ruin; nor would the young and unthinking be ſo adventurous and enterpriſing as they are now. Every man would look before he leaped, and be cautious whom he truſted. Honour would be more binding than law, and thoſe who were unprincipled and imprudent enough to break that bond, would ever after experience puniſhment enough. None would have confidence enough in him, nor would aſſociate with him, which perhaps would induce him to commence highwayman for a livelihood, the conſequence of which would be the gallows, which ſoon make an end of ſuch a peſt to ſociety. It is therefore to be hoped the parliament will this ſeſſion fully complete what has been ſo nobly began, which will be an immortalization of their names and a laſting advantage to their country.

Wedneſday night, about eleven o'clock, the lord mayor arrived at the manſion houſe, from Cricklade in Wiltſhire. He ſet out from that place on Tueſday aft.

The election of lord Pigot to the government of Madraſs gives every well wiſher to the proſperity of the Eaſt India company the greateſt ſatisfaction, as no man has done more ſervices to that company, no man acquired a large fortune in the Eaſt with more honour, nor no man has made a better uſe of it ſince his return.

Wedneſday morning the ſtewards of the ſociety of Ancient Britons waited on the prince of Wales, to compliment him on its being the anniverſary of Sint David's day; when they received the uſual donation from his royal highneſs towards the ſupport of the charity children belonging to that ſociety. The whole collection amounted to 559 l. odd; a ſum infinitely larger than was ever collected on a ſimilar occaſion.

We are informed from the war office, that it is his majeſty's pleaſure that all officers abſent from regiments in North America do join their reſpective corps without delay, thoſe only excepted who are ordered on duty in this kingdom or in Ireland.

Extract of a letter from Leghorn, dated February 1.

"Advices from Tetuan of the 24th of December mention, that the real reaſon for which the emperor of Morocco declared war againſt Holland was, becauſe having aſked for ſome artificers from thence to carry on cannon founderies in his kingdom, he was anſwered, that there was none to be found who would go to ſo hot a climate as Africa."

Extract of a letter from Goſport, dated February 24.

"Orders are juſt come down for his majeſty's ſhip Cerberus, captain Chads, to fit for Boſton, and ſhe is to carry three generals out. Captain Potter, who was appointed to the Nautilus ſloop, in the room of captain Parker, has declined it, on account of his being much indiſpoſed; therefore captain Collins is appointed to the command of her. Laſt night money came down to pay the Warwick, which lately came from the Eaſt-Indies. It is ſaid that the ſhips intended for Boſton are to be all at Spithead by the middle of next month. Remain at Spithead ſeven ſhips of war, and in the harbour eight."

Extract of a letter from Deal, dated February 23.

"The crew of the Fanny, captain Allen, bound to Africa, conſiſting of ten people, refuſed to proceed on their voyage (for what reaſon is not known), and hoiſted out the ſhip's boat laſt night, and rowed away, leaving the captain and mate on board, who, with the aſſiſtance of ſeveral men from Deal, &c. carried the ſhip ſafe into Ramſgate pier."

From Rome we have intelligence that the fine yacht which is to carry the Dutcheſs of Kingſton and her ſuit, to England, is arrived in the Tiber, where numbers of people go to ſee it. That lady, it is ſaid, will ſoon ſet out for London, to carry on her ſuit there, and then return hither again.

The following is the PETITION agreed to laſt Thurſday by the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, of this city, and was preſented yeſterday to the houſe of commons, relative to the bill for reſtraining the trade and commerce of Maſſachuſetts Bay, &c.

"The humble petition of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common council aſſembled,

"Sheweth,

"That although your petitioners bear all due reſpect to the policy of thoſe acts of parliament which have antiently preſerved to Great Britain a neceſſary and beneficial ſhare of commerce with our colonies, yet they are exceedingly alarmed at the conſequences that muſt enſue if the bill now depending in this honourable houſe ſhould paſs into a law, entitled "a bill to reſtrain the trade and commerce of Maſſachuſetts Bay and New Hampſhire, and colonies of Connecticut, and Rhode Iſland, and Providence Plantations, in North America, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh iſlands in the Weſt Indies, and to prohibit ſuch provinces and colonies from carrying on any fiſhery on the Banks of Newfoundland, or other places therein to be mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a time to be limited;" the ſaid bill, as your petitioners conceive, being unjuſtly founded, becauſe it involves the whole in the puniſhment intended for the ſuppoſed offences of a few.

"That it muſt, in its conſequences, overwhelm thouſands of his majeſty's loyal and uſeful ſubjects with the utmoſt poverty and diſtreſs; inaſmuch as they will be thereby deprived of the fiſheries, which are the natural means of ſupporting themſelves and families.

"That the extenſive commerce between Great Britain and her colonies will, by this bill, be greatly injured, as a capital ſource of remittance will be ſtopped, which will not only diſconnect the future commercial intercourſe between thoſe colonies and this country, but will eventually render them incapable of paying the large debts already due to the merchants of this city.

"That the utmoſt confuſion will probably enſue from enforcing this bill, if paſſed into a law, as it cannot be ſuppoſed that a great number of men, naturally hardy and brave, will quietly ſubmit to a law which will reduce them almoſt to famine, they not having within themſelves proviſions ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence.

"That it will induce the French to extend their fiſheries, and by that means encreaſe the wealth and ſtrength of our rivals in trade, to the great prejudice this country.

"That your petitioners feel for the many hardſhips which their fellow ſubjects in America already labour under, from the execution of ſeveral late acts of parliament, evidently partial and oppreſſive, and which ſeem to be extended and continued by this bill; inaſmuch as it confirms thoſe acts, which in particular caſes deprives the American ſubject of trial by jury, prohibits the American from carrying proviſions from one colony to another, invites a contraband trade under military protection, prevents any ſubject of Great Britain or Ireland from being part owner of certain American ſhips or veſſels, and veſts an undue and dangerous authority in the governor and council of Maſſachuſetts Bay.

"Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray this honourable houſe, that the ſaid bill may not paſs into a law."

When the report was made laſt Thurſday in the lower aſſembly from the ſelect committee appointed to determine the Hindon election, a member moved to have the printed report read, which being complied with, he moved that the aſſembly ſhould agree with four of the reſolutions contained in the ſaid report, which were, in ſubſtance, that each of the four candidates, by their agents, had been guilty of bribery, which, after ſome debates, were agreed to; as was the fifth, that a clergyman and other perſons had been concerned in bribing the voters, either as agents or otherwiſe.

The following reſolution, which is the laſt, had the previous queſtion put on it, and being carried after a ſhort debate, the main queſtion of courſe had a negative put on it.

Reſolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the houſe be moved for leave to bring in a bill to diſfranchiſe the ſaid borough of Hindon, in the county of Wilts.

A motion was propoſed, and queſtion put, that no writ be iſſued for electing two burgeſſes to ſerve in parliament for Hindon, in Wilts, for one month. This produced another debate, which continued till half after nine. The houſe divided, ayes, 84; noes 36.

The complaints made in the upper aſſembly laſt Friday was againſt a pamphlet entitled "the Preſent Criſis, with reſpect to America, conſidered;" which was declared to be a ſeditious libel, and the aſſembly reſolved that it ſhould be burnt by the common hangman, one of them in Old Palace yard, on the 6th of March, and another at the Royal Exchange, on the 7th of March, the ſheriffs of London attending. Theſe reſolutions are to be communicated this day to the lower aſſembly, to deſire their concurrence.

It is ſaid that the laſt letters from general Gage, dated January 18. contain very agreeable accounts that the minds of the people are cooling apace in that province, and they begin to wiſh for the opening of the courts of juſtice, and a more regular government than they have enjoyed for ſome months paſt. Aſſociations begin to be formed in the country, by reſpectable perſons, for the defence of their lives and properties, againſt the ſeditious and diſorderly. This is ſaid to be the ſubſtance of the laſt public letters from Boſton.

The 22d, 40th, 44th, and 45th regiments (which have been for ſome time talked of to embark next for America) have received orders for immediate embarkation, which makes the preſent reinforcement to conſiſt of one regiment of dragoons and ſeven of infantry.

A great perſonage has inſiſted that no colonel whatever, of any of the regiments intended for America, or at preſent there, ſhall ſtay from their corps.

Letters from Jamaica dated the 14th of December, mention, that upwards of fifty ſail of ſhips had already arrived there from London, Briſtol, Liverpool, and Lancaſter, all which had good paſſages, beſides a great many ſhips from North America.

A cargo of goods, landed out of a ſhip bound from London to Quebec, is burnt at Carboneer in Newfoundland.

On Friday came on, in the court of common pleas at Guildhall, before lord chief juſtice De Grey and a ſpecial jury, a cauſe betwen a timber merchant of London, plaintiff, and the lord of the manor for Wolwich, defendant, for detaining timber, which, by accident, had been carried adrift, and demanding a ſalvage of one third of the value; when it appearing clearly that he had no right to take poſſeſſion of the timber, it being under the juriſdiction of the lord mayor and city of London, or their water bailiff, the jury, without heſitation, gave in a verdict in favour of the plantiff, with coſts of ſuit. This is a very material determination in favour of the merchants and others, who are liable to a loſs from driftage.

The houſe of lords nominated managers yeſterday afternoon to direct a conference on their part, which was held with the deputation from the houſe of commons on the ſubject of the pamphlet publiſhed by T. Becket, and the commons agreed to the reſolutions of the upper houſe reſpecting it, by filling up the blanks with the words commons in parliament aſſembled; &c. In conſequence of this concurrence of the two houſes, the pamphlet will be burnt at the time and places mentioned in Monday's news.

A ſecond conference enſued, ariſing from a complaint which had been made in the houſe of commons of a periodical paper called the Criſis, number III. publiſhed on Saturday, February 4, 1775, for T. Shaw in Fleet-ſtreet. Lord Chewton moved in the houſe of commons that the ſaid paper is a falſe, malicious, and ſeditious libel, and that it ſhould be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, in Old Palace yard, on Monday next, which was unanimouſly carried; as alſo a motion for communicating theſe reſolutions to the lords at a conference, and deſiring their concurrence. While this was paſſing in the lower houſe, the ſame complaint and motion was made in the houſe of lords by lord Radnor, with this adition, that it is a treaſonable libel; and that this houſe do addreſs his majeſty that he would be pleaſed to order the attorney general to proſecute the writer and the publiſher. A debate aroſe upon the word *treaſonable*, and after a conference with the commons, the managers on the part of the lords having reported that the commons had only found it ſeditious, it was reſolved to ſummons the lords, and to take the matter into further conſideration this day.

A new writ is ordered to be iſſued out for electing a member for Worceſterſhire, in the room of William Dowdeſwell, eſquire, deceaſed.

This day the marquis of Granby comes of age, and which, we hear, will be celebrated at Cheveley, his lordſhip's ſeat near Newmarket, with great feſtivity and hoſpitality; after which his lordſhip will take his ſeat in parliament as one of the members for Cambridge.

The nobility, &c. are laying in ſtocks of French wines, which proves that they are apprehenſive of getting none by and by, and alſo that the report of war with France and Spain is not totally void of foundation.

When the laſt advices left Leghorn, eight Ruſſian men of war lying in the Mole were preparing to ſail for England, and are to touch on their return home the Ruſſian ports.

A correſpondent thinks it an odd circumſtance, that the Cerberus (whom the poets feign to be the three-headed dog that guards the mouth of Hell) ſhould be the ſhip appointed to carry over to America the three generals appointed to tame the Americans.

A letter from Jamaica mentions, that an Engliſh ſnow, captain Letcher, had lately arrived there from Saint Euſtatia; that in her paſſage, having met with a hurricane, ſhe was driven on the coaſt of South America; and on her attempting to enter the harbour of Carthagena, the guns from the fort fired on the ſnow; on which the captian immediately brought to, and was boarded by the crew of an armed ſchooner, who ſtripped captain Letcher of his coat, waiſtcoat,

and gold laced hat; on which a paſſenger addreſſed them in Spaniſh, and required to know their reaſon for ſuch inhoſpitable treatment: He recived for anſwer, that the Engliſh were no better than pirates; that the governor had ordered no Engliſh ſhipſhould enter that port; and accordinly obliged the ſnow to tack about and ſtand out for ſea; although ſhe was in the utmoſt diſtreſs, and in great want of water, they refuſed to give her the leaſt aſſiſtance.

The following is an exact copy of the much talked of Bimingham petition ſent to the honourable houſe of commons. It has ſingly and ſolely for its object the true and permanent intereſt of the whole Britiſh Empire:

The humble petition of the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Birmingham,

"Sheweth,

"THAT your petitioners are apprehenſive that any relaxation in the execution of the laws reſpecting the colonies of Great Britain, will ultimately tend to the injury of the commerce of this town and neighbourhood.

"Wherefore they humbly requeſt that this honourable houſe will continue to exert their endeavours to ſupport the authority of the laws of this kingdom over all the dominions of the crown."

The troops deſtined for America are now on their march for the ſeaports, where the tranſport veſſels are ready prepared to receive them; but we hear that they are in hourly expectation of orders to countermand this diſagreeable expedition.

A letter from New York, dated February 1, has the following paſſage: "On the receipt of the king's ſpeech, an Engliſhman was ſtanding in Rivington's ſhop, amongſt a croud of people, and being aſked what made him look ſo chearful, replied, becauſe I am not *yet* aſhamed of being born an Engliſhman; but had the *old lion crouched*, I would have hid my head in the remoteſt corner of the deſert."

Laſt Sunday evening as ſome perſons were going through Moorfields, a dog belonging to one of them was obſerved to ſcratch at a particular place, and his maſter could not get him from it; upon which they had the ground opened, when the body of an infant juſt buried was found, with its legs cut off and lying by the body.

On Tueſday a petition from Poole was preſented in favour of the bill for reſtraining the American commerce, and againſt the petition of the city of London; which was referred to a committee.

Tueſday night ſome diſpatches from America were received by expreſs at lord Dartmouth's office, which were brought over by the Rebecca, captain Saunders, arrived at Exon, from New York.

Advice is received that the empreſs queen, and ſome other neighbouring powers, have given immediate orders to repair and ſtrengthen all the frontier towns, giving it for a reaſon, "that when once his Pruſſian majeſty is on the march, it is hard to tell where he will ſtop; for, having a numerous army equipped and ready for the field, it was conjectured he had ſome important expedition in view."

A letter from Harwich mentions, that on Saturday laſt one of his majeſty's armed cutters took a large Dutch dogger laden with tea, coffee and Holland's geneva, off the Eſſex coaſt, and carried her into that port.

A ſhip lately arrived from South Carolina, brings advice that a very ſharp diſpute had happened between the baymen and the Spaniards, in the Bay of Honduras, in which many of the baymen were killed.

Orders are given for the tranſports which are to carry the troops to Boſton to take on board three months additional proviſions and ſtores; from whence it is imanaged their deſtination is farther to the ſouthward than is given out.

It is reported that part of the fleet now going to America will be deſtined to protect our merchant ſhips from the inſolence and depredations of the Spaniards.

It is currently reported that our ambaſſador at the Hague will be recalled, to occupy a very conſiderable American department.

In the proceedings on Monday laſt againſt the printer of the Public Ledger, for a libel on alderman Kennet, Mr. Serjeant Adair, counſel for the defendant, endeavoured to ſhew that the terms in which the libel was couched rendered it applicable to Mr. Wilkes, "who, argued the ſerjeant, being a candidate for the mayoralty, as well as Mr. Kennet, was to all intents and purpoſes, *a lord mayor would be*; and, as he was known to have no ſort of an averſion to the juice of the grape, the appellation of *alderman Claret*, was by no means an unſuitable deſignation of his character." lord Mansfield, after the delivery of his charge, took notice of this by obſerving, "that there was one deſcriptive deſignation in the libel, which precluded its application to the preſent worthy mayor, who a mongſt all his other *excellencies*, had never yet *kept a tavern*".

Laſt week was imported into Liverpool one thouſand one hundred quarters of wheat and one hundred and eighty one barrels of flour from New York, alſo ſeven hundred and twenty five quarters of oats from Ireland.

Extract of a letter from the earl of Dunmore to the earl of Dartmouth, dated Williamſburg, December 24, 1774; laid before the houſe of commons, February 15, 1775, by lord North.

MY neceſſary abſence on the occaſion of the Indian diſturbances, will, I hope, account and excuſe me for my not having acknowledged your lordſhip's ſeveral letters in due time and order; and for not having regularly communicated accounts of the public affairs of the colony, to which ſome of them refer; and I wiſh I were now ſo fortunate as to have it in my power to make a repreſentation of their appearing with a more favourable aſpect, than when I laſt wrote upon thoſe important concerns.

The aſſociations firſt, in part, entered into, recommended by the people of this colony, and adopted by what is called the continental congreſs, are now enforcing throughout this country, with the greateſt rigour. A committee has been choſen in every county, whoſe buſineſs it is to carry the aſſociation of the congreſs into execution; which committee aſſumes an authority to inſpect the books, invoices, and all other ſecrets of the trade and correſpondence of merchants; to watch the conduct of every inhabitant, without diſtinction; and to ſend for all ſuch as come under their ſuſpicion into their preſence, to interrogate them reſpecting all matters which, at their pleaſure, they think fit objects of their inquiry; and to ſtigmatiſe, as they term it, ſuch as they find tranſgreſſing, what they are now hardy enough to call the laws of the congreſs; which ſtigmatiſing is no other than inviting the vengance of an outrageous and lawleſs mob to be exerciſed upon the unhappy victims. Every county, beſides, is now arming a company of men, whom they call an independent company, for the avowed purpoſe of protecting their committees, and to be employed againſt government, if occaſion require. The committee of one county has proceeded ſo far as to ſwear the men of their independent company to execute all orders which ſhall be given them from the committee of their county.

As to the power of government which your lordſhip, in your letter of November 11, directs ſhould be exerted to counteract the dangerous meaſures purſuing here, I can aſſure your lordſhip that it is entirely diſregarded, if not wholly overturned. There is not a juſtice of peace in Virginia that acts, except as a committee man. The aboliſhing the courts of juſtice was the firſt ſtep taken, in which the men of fortune and pre-eminence joined equally with the loweſt and meaneſt. The general court of judicature of the colony is much in the ſame predicament, for though there are at leaſt a majority of his majeſty's council who, with myſelf, are the judges of that court, that would ſteadily perform their duty, yet the lawyers have abſolutely refuſed to attend, nor, indeed, would the people allow them to attend, or evidences to appear. The reaſon commonly aſſigned for this proceeding is, the want of a fee-bill, which expired at the laſt ſeſſion of aſſembly, and it is a popular argument here, that no power but the legiſlature can eſtabliſh fees; and the fee-bill not having been renewed, it is attributed to the diſſolution; but the true cauſe of ſo many perſons joining in ſo opprobrious a meaſure, was to engage their Engliſh creditors, who are numerous, to join in the clamours of this country, and not a few to avoid paying the debts in which many of the principal people here are much involved.

With regard to the encouraging of thoſe, as your lordſhip likewiſe exhorts me, who appeared, in principle, averſe to theſe proceedings, I hope your lordſhip will do me the juſtice to believe, I have left no means in my power uneſſayed to draw all the aſſiſtance poſſible from them to his majeſty's government, but I preſume your lordſhip will not think it very extraordinary that my perſuaſions ſhould have been unavailing againſt the terrors which, on the other hand, are held out by the committee.

Independent companies, &c. ſo univerſally ſupported, who have ſet themſelves up ſuperior to all other authority, under the auſpices of their congreſs, the laws of which they talk of in a ſtile of reſpect, and treat with marks of reverence, which they never beſtowed on their legal government, or the laws proceeding from it, I can aſſure your lordſhip, that I have diſcovered no inſtance where the interpoſition of government, in the feeble ſtate to which it is reduced, could ſerve any other purpoſe than to ſuffer the diſgrace of a diſappointment, and thereby afford matter of great exultation to its enemies, and encreaſe their influence over the minds of the people.

But, my lord, every ſtep which has been taken by theſe infatuated people muſt inevitably defeat its own purpoſe. Their non-importation, non-exportation, &c. cannot fail, in a ſhort time, to produce a ſcarcity, which will ruin thouſands of families. The people indeed of fortune may ſupply themſelves and their negroes for two or three years, but the middling and poorer ſort, who live from hand to mouth, have not the means of doing ſo, and the produce of their lands will not purchaſe thoſe neceſſaries (without which themſelves and negroes muſt ſtarve) of the merchants who may have goods to diſpoſe of, becauſe the merchants are prevented from turning ſuch produce to any account. As to manufacturing for themſelves, the people of Virginia are very far from being naturally induſtrious, and it is not by taking away the principal, if not the only encouragement to induſtry, that it can be excited; nor is it, in times of anarchy and confuſion, that the foundation of ſuch improvements can be laid. The lower claſs of people, too, will diſcover that they have been duped by the richer ſort, who, for their part, elude the whole effects of the aſſociation, by which their poor neighbours periſh. What then is to deter thoſe from taking the ſhorteſt mode of ſupplying themſelves, and, unreſtrained as they are by laws, from taking whatever they want wherever they can find it?

The arbitrary proceedings of theſe committees, likewiſe, cannot fail of producing quarrels and diſſenſions, which will raiſe partiſans of government, and, I am firmly perſuaded, that the colony, even by their own acts and deeds, muſt be brought to ſee the neceſſity of depending on its mother country, and of embracing its authority.

WILLIAMSBURG.

BY a ſhip lately arrived in a ſhort paſſage from Ireland we have the following agreeable intelligence: That the miniſtry are gradually relaxing, and matters reſpecting America begin to wear a more chearful aſpect on the other ſide of the Atlantic, and that the two houſes of parliament were to have a free conference to debate on the propriety of adopting a plan of accommodation between GREAT BRITAIN and the AMERICAN STATES, propoſed by the immortal lord CHATHAM; to which, it was generally ſuppoſed, they would accede. The captain farther informs, that the tranſports which were bound for America, and had been ſent over to Ireland to victual, were ordered to wait for farther orders. The joy and acclamations of the people of Ireland, he ſaid, were ſcarcely to be expreſſed, on the reception of this pleaſing information. We are the rather induced to ſuppoſe that there is ſome truth in this intelligence, from a paragraph or two in a London paper, bearing date the 26th of February, under the head of parliamentary proceedings, wherein it was aſſerted that a reſolution of the committee for American affairs was read, that the parliament ſhould forbear taxing the Americans, and give them leave to tax themſelves, which was carried by a very great majority. Lord CHATHAM leaves nothing undone, that a great ſoul and able head can deviſe, to procure an honourable and ſpeedy reconciliation. What reverence and reſpect is due from mankind to that incomparable ſtateſman, who has ſo long and ſo glorioufly ſupported the cauſe of liberty! His adored memory ſhall ever remain enthroned in the hearts of the friends to liberty, virtue, and mankind.

The CRISIS, JUNIUS, and many other papers, are daily publiſhed in London, againſt the bloody court, bloody miniſtry, and bloody parliament, and in courſe in favour of America.

ARRIVALS. The Molly, Bell, from Liverpool, and the Randolph, M'Nabb, from London, in James river; the Tom, Clarke, from Liverpool, the Mary, Miller, and the Virginia, Arthurs, from London, in York river.

MARRIAGES. Mr. JOHN GORDON, of Prince George, to Miſs LUCY POYTHRESS, of the ſame county, a very amiable young lady.

How happy they! the happieſt of their kind!
Whom gentler ſtars unite, and in one fate
Their hearts, their fortunes, and their beings blend!

THOMPSON.

Gawin Corbin, eſquire, is appointed one of his majeſty's honourable council for this colony, in the room of the honourable John Page, eſquire, deceaſed.

We would not willingly offend the author of LECTUM IRI; but on account of the many arrivals this week we have received ſo much intelligence, and our paper being ſo ſmall, are the reaſons why we cannot comply with the requeſt of that gentleman. Next week's paper, however, if he chuſes, ſhall poſitively contain his third letter.

AT a meeting of the committee of the county of Glouceſter, at the courthouſe of the ſaid county, on Monday the third of April, 1775, WARNER LEWIS, *eſquire, was unanimouſly elected chairman. The reſolves of the convention held at the town of Richmond, the 20th of March, 1775, were read, and unanimouſly approved of.*

Reſolved, that the thanks of this committee be preſented to THOMAS WHITING *and* LEWIS BURWELL, *eſquires, our worthy delegates, for their faithful diſcharge of the important truſt repoſed in them.*

It being late before a ſufficient number of members aſſembled to proceed upon buſineſs, the committee adjourned to Tueſday the 25th inſtant.

TUESDAY April 25, 1775. *The committee met according to adjournment, and entered into the following reſolves.*

Reſolved, that, as an encouragement to the manufacturing gun-powder in this colony, we will give a premium of TWENTY FIVE POUNDS to any perſon who ſhall produce to the chairman of this committee, on or before the 25th of October next, THREE HUNDRED POUNDS *of good GUNPOWDER, made in Virginia, which we will purchaſe at the common price of that commodity; and if it ſhall be proved to be made wholly of the materials of this colony, we will give an additional premium of TEN POUNDS.*

Reſolved, that we will give FIFTY POUNDS to any perſon who ſhall produce to the chairman of this committee SIXTY PAIR *of good* WOOL, *and* SIXTY PAIR *of good* COTTON CARDS, *on or before the 25th of October next, with an authentic certificate of their having been made in this colony; and we will purchaſe the ſame at the uſual price.*

The committee having received authentic information, that laſt Thurſday night an officer of one of his majeſty's armed veſſels, with a party of armed men, by expreſs command of lord DUNMORE, *privately removed the GUNPOWDER belonging to this colony out of the magazine,* IT WAS UNANIMOUSLY RESOLVED, *that the removal of the POWDER from the public magazine on board one of his majeſty's armed veſſels, by order of the governor, is exceedingly alarming at this time.*

Reſolved, that his lordſhip's verbal anſwer to the addreſs of the mayor, recorder, aldermen, and common council, of the city of Williamſburg, is unſatisfactory, diſreſpectful, and evaſive.

Reſolved, that his lordſhip, by this and other parts of his conduct which have lately tranſpired, has juſtly forfeited all title to the confidence of the GOOD PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA.

RESOLVED, that the POWDER ought IMMEDIATELY to be reſtored.

Ordered, that the clerk ſend, by expreſs, copies of theſe RESOLVES to each of the printers, and they are deſired to publiſh them in their next gazettes.

JASPER CLAYTON, clerk.

a noble earl, and a true ſpirited Engliſh duke; he now begins to droop, and muſt ſhortly yield the chace to his hardy purſuers, whom, I hope, will never quit the monſter till he is devoted a victim to public juſtice.

In God's name, where is the mighty difference of parliament's taxing America, or the American aſſemblies voting their own ſupplies, diſpoſeable by parliament? For if parliament has a right to diſpoſe, it comprehends a right to tax; for they cannot legally diſpoſe of that which was never levied by their authority. Ridiculous evaſion! Do adminiſtration conceive a proſpect that any one colony in America will be induced by ſuch an artful deception of words to deſert the general cauſe of public freedom upon ſuch a vague, indefinite pretence? Surely not. Do adminiſtration imagine that it will appeaſe the murmurs and diſcontents on this ſide the Atlantic? If they do, to their coſt they will be finely undeceived; for will the merchant export under the preſent reſtrictions, or hazard his traffic upon ſuch a rotten foundation? No. Will the manufacturer ſet his loom or his anvil to work upon the bare, idle expreſſions, of a *puny miniſter?* No, no; his ſtock is already too great in hand, nor will he venture an encreaſe while ſuch impolitic, inexpedient, uncommercial projects, are daily formed.

The preſent miniſtry are a ſet of invidious, deſpicable miſcreants, without heads to govern, or hearts ſuſceptible of human feeling, whoſe cheeks never glow with a roſy tinge. A few days ago America was in *open rebellion*, and yet one half that voted them ſo cannot define the word *rebellion*. Lives and fortunes were devoted to ſubdue theſe inſurgents and republicans; but ſuch fortunes that exiſt only in places and penſions, and lives not too good to expire in ſuch a bold attempt. But, oh! aſtoniſhment! for behold in a few days ſucceeds a *prodigy*, this wild reſolution; a flat confeſſion of premiditate error, and a premiſe of an unſucceſsful prerogative, in which the true dignity of the crown is diminiſhed, the weakneſs of our councils expoſed, and the ſtrength of parliament diſplayed. Shame, where is thy bluſh? Miniſtry, where is your wiſdom? For ſuch is your *conſiſtency* of conduct.

But you, my lord, have for ſome time paſt been heavily depreſſed in mind; a conſcious remorſe hangs upon your brow; your pillow even could not afford you the indulgence of a ſweet repoſe. By this *motion*, perhaps, you have eaſed your mind; it may be ſo for a while; but a ſhort ſpace of time, and confuſion will overwhelm your ſoul; for in your adminiſtration were all theſe infamous proceedings deviſed and enacted; you are accountable and reſponſible for what has or may be done in conſequence thereof; for the criſis is near at hand, when all ranks and orders of people will inevitably feel the diſtreſſes that an implacable, overbearing junto, have prepared for them; and depend upon it, the juſt reſentment of an injured, oppreſſed people, will fall moſt heavily when they are thoroughly exaſperated; and ſooner or later theſe acts muſt be totally and abſolutely repealed; and, above all, recollect, my lord, that it is the firm, unalterable reſolution, of the Americans, never to treat with the preſent miniſtry. My lord, ſuch is my ſolution of this *problematical*, or rather *dogmatical* motion.

THE FREE CITIZEN.

NEWBERN, *April* 7.

THE general aſſembly being prorogued to the 27th of March, ſeveral of the members met, but there not being a ſufficient number to make a houſe, his excellency the governor was pleaſed to prorogue them from day to day to the 4th inſtant, when a number ſufficient to form a houſe met, and being duly qualified by taking the oaths of government, waited on his excellency to acquaint him therewith. His excellency then directed them to return to the houſe and make choice of a ſpeaker. Colon. John Harvey, their late ſpeaker, was then unanimouſly elected, and conducted to the chair accordingly. The houſe then waited on his excellency, and preſented their ſpeaker, whom he was pleaſed to approve, and then opened the ſeſſion with the following SPEECH:

Gentlemen of his majeſty's honourable council, Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen of the houſe of aſſembly,

I HAVE now met you in general aſſembly, in hopes that diſmiſſing every cauſe of private diſſention from your minds, you will calmly, unitedly, and faithfully apply yourſelves to the diſcharge of the high and important office of legiſlation, in which you bear ſo great a ſhare, according to the conſtitution of this country, that calls upon you for relief at this time in a moſt peculiar and preſſing manner.

I look, gentlemen, with the extreneſt horror and concern, to the conſequences of the violent and unjuſtifiable proceedings in ſome of his majeſty's colonies of this continent, where in many places the innocent, unwary, and ignorant part of the people, have been cruelly betrayed into meaſures highly inconſiſtent with their duty and allegiance to our moſt gracious ſovereign and the ſtate, that tend immediately to involve them in the moſt embarraſſing difficulties and diſtreſſes, and which, if purſued, muſt inevitably precipitate theſe colonies from their preſent unparallelled ſtate of proſperity into a train of miſeries moſt dreadful to contemplate, whence ages of time will not redeem them to their now envied felicity. You, gentlemen, are bound by your duty to the king, to the ſtate, and to this people, as well as I by mine, to obviate the contagion of theſe evil examples in this country, and to defend it, if poſſible, from the ruin and deſtruction to which they plainly lead. I ſee, with infinite concern, the unhappy influence they have already had among us. The meetings to which the people have been excited; the appointment of committees; the violences theſe little, illegal, unreſtrained, and arbitrary tribunals, have done to the rights of his majeſty's ſubjects; the flagrant and unpardonable inſults they have offered to the higheſt authorities of the ſtate by ſome of their acts, which have been made public; and the ſtop that has been put in ſome of the counties to the regular courſe of juſtice, in imitation of the unwarrantable meaſures taken in other colonies, but too plainly evince their baneful progreſs here, and loudly demand the moſt effectual exertion of your reſtraining and correcting powers. You are now, gentlemen of the aſſembly, by your duty to yourſelves and to your conſtituents, moſt peculiarly called upon to oppoſe a meeting of delegates, which the people have been invited to chuſe, and who are appointed to aſſemble at this very time and place, in the face of the legiſlature. This illegal meeting, purſuant to my duty to the king and to the conſtitution of this country, and from regard to your dignity, and the juſt rights of the people, I have counteracted; and I ſhall continue to reſiſt it by every means in my power. What can this mean, gentlemen? Are you not the only lawful repreſentatives of the people in this country, and competent to every legal purpoſe? Will you then ſubmit to ſee your conſtituents miſled to violate their deareſt privileges, by wounding your dignity, and ſetting up repreſentatives derogatory to your juſt power and authority? This, gentlemen, is an inſult to you, of ſo violent a nature, that it appears to me to demand your every poſſible diſcouragement, for its evident tendency is to create a belief in the people, that they are capable of electing repreſentatives of ſuperior powers to the members of your houſe; which, if it can poſſibly obtain, muſt lead by obvious conſequences to the deſtruction of the eſſence, if not the very being, of an aſſembly in this province, and finally to the utter diſſolution and overthrow of its eſtabliſhed happy conſtitution. This, gentlemen, among others I have before mentioned, is one of the fatal expedients employed in ſome of the other colonies, under the influence of factious and wicked men, intent upon promoting their own horrid purpoſes, at the hazard of their country's ruin. I hope they have been adopted here more from a ſpirit of imitation than ill principles, and that you, clearly diſcerning the miſchiefs with which they are pregnant, will heartily concur with me in oppoſing the firſt dawnings of ſo dangerous a ſyſtem.

As an object of the greateſt conſequence to all the colonies, I would recommend it to your firſt attention to employ your utmoſt care and aſſiduity to remove thoſe falſe impreſſions by which the engines of ſedition have laboured to effect, but too ſucceſsfully, a moſt unnatural diviſion between the parent ſtate and theſe colonies, which under her protecting, indulgent, foſtering care, have attained to a degree of proſperity beyond all example. The baſeſt arts have been practiſed upon the innocent people, and they have been blindly led to partake in guilt to which their hearts are confeſſedly averſe; and thus, ſtep by ſtep, they will be ſeduced from their duty, and all the bonds of civil ſociety will be deſtroyed, unleſs timely remedies are applied. This, gentlemen, is a melancholy proſpect that muſt ſeriouſly alarm every good ſubject, every humane, every honeſt man; and it will be your duty, as guardians of the conſtitutional rights of the people, vigorouſly to oppoſe proceedings ſo manifeſtly ſubverſive of their freedom and happineſs. Be it your care then, gentlemen, to undeceive the people, to lead them back from the dangerous precipice, to which an ill ſpirit of faction is urging them, to the paths of their duty: Set before them the ſacred tie of allegiance by which, as ſubjects, they are bound to the ſtate; inform them of the reciprocal benefits which their ſtrict obſervance thereof entitles them to; and warn them of the danger to which they muſt expoſe their lives and properties, and all that they hold dear, by revolting from it. The frequent occaſions you have had in your ſeveral capacities as members of the legiſlature and magiſtrates, moſt ſolemnly to ſwear this allegiance, which is an implied duty upon every ſubject of every ſtate, where it is not profeſſed and declared, muſt have brought it home to your conſideration; and you are therefore certainly well qualified to explain the obligatory nature and importance of it to the people. They will naturally look up to you for a rule of conduct in theſe wild and diſtempered times; and, I have no doubt, that taught by your example, they will immediately return to their duty and obedience to the laws, and gladly free themſelves from that tyranny, which ill directed zeal and lawleſs ambition, by all the arts of miſrepreſentation and deluſion, are courting them to ſubmit to. I have the high ſatisfaction to tell you, gentlemen, that I have already received ſignal proofs of the ſteady loyalty and duty of a great number of the good people of this province; and I have the fulleſt aſſurance that many more will follow this laudable example. Theſe, gentlemen, are very favourable preſages, upon which I congratulate you, and which, I perſuade myſelf, your prudent conduct will improve to the honour and advantage of your country.

The ſtate of the colonies is at this time the ſubject of the deliberations of the grand council of the nation, from whoſe wiſdom and juſtice they have every thing to expect conſiſtent with the principles of the *Britiſh* conſtitution, and the general welfare of the empire, while they continue in the duty they owe to it. The confeſſed generous character of *Britain*, and the magnanimity of our moſt gracious ſovereign, who, through the whole courſe of his reign, has uniformly made the happineſs of his people the object of all his views, and the rule of all his actions, inſures it to them. On this great arbiter of *Britiſh* rights, it therefore becomes you to rely with the fulleſt confidence, and to deſerve, by a dutiful behaviour, its favourable regard. If a precedent could be wanting, as I cannot ſuppoſe it is, to induce you to ſuch a right conduct, one of the moſt reſpectable of the colonies affords it to you; and you will ſee, without queſtion, how highly improper it will be, at ſuch a conjuncture, to countenance any meaſures of a contrary nature. If the people of this colony have any repreſentations to make to the ſupreme powers of the ſtate, you are the only legal and proper channel of their applications; and through you they may be aſſured of every attention to their dutiful petitions. You, gentlemen, I dare ſay, tender too highly the rights of the people committed to your guardianſhip, and know too well the limits of your own power, to conſign them to any other hands; that muſt not only be diſqualified to ſerve the people, but will infallibly diveſt you of that dignity and conſequence, which belong to you as their lawful repreſentatives.

Let me hope, gentlemen, that laying aſide all paſſion and prejudice, you will calmly, and with one accord, purſue ſuch a line of conduct, in theſe points of general concern to *America*, as may be moſt likely to heal the unhappy differences now ſubſiſting between *Great Britain* and her colonies. Conſider how great an opportunity you now have to ſerve, to ſave your country; to manifeſt your loyalty to the beſt of *kings*, and to demonſtrate your attachment to the *Britiſh* conſtitution; the moſt free, the moſt glorious, and happieſt political ſyſtem in the whole world. If you conſult but for a moment your own intereſt and welfare, and the happineſs of this people, I cannot be diſappointed in my hopes that you will avail yourſelves of the occaſion. Be it your glory, gentlemen, to record to lateſt poſterity, that at a time when the monſter, ſedition, dared to rear his impious head in *America*, the people of *North Carolina*, inſpired with a juſt ſenſe of their duty to their king and country, and animated by the example of its legiſlature, ſtood among the foremoſt of his majeſty's ſubjects, to rend his baneful ſnares, and to repel the fell invader of their happineſs. Thus, gentlemen, you may redeem your ſinking country to proſperity! thus you will acquire to yourſelves immortal honour and renown! while a contrary conduct muſt inevitably plunge this once happy land in horrors beyond all imagination, whence nothing can recover it but the generous hand of *Britain*, interpoſed to ſave you from your own deſtruction. Thus far, gentlemen, I have ſet before you, upon principles of your duty to the conſtitution, and the welfare of your country, the neceſſity of diſcouraging, to the utmoſt of your power, the illegal meetings into which the innocent people have been betrayed, and the unlawful eſtabliſhments and appointments they have been led to give their ſanction to. I have alſo ſtated to you the more eſpecial obligations you lie under to prevent that meeting to which the people have been invited, to ſend deputies here at this time; and I have fully admoniſhed you of the ruinous conſequences of a different conduct. In addition to theſe powerful motives, gentlemen, I am authorized to ſay, that the unwarrantable meaſure of appointing delegates to attend a congreſs at *Philadelphia*, now in agitation, will be highly offenſive to the king; and this, I cannot doubt, will be reaſon with you of the greateſt force, to oppoſe ſo dangerous a ſtep.

Your next attention, gentlemen, is due to the particular ſtate of this country, that calls for your ſtricteſt regard.

The exhauſted ſtate of the public treaſury; the large demands upon it that remain unſatisfied; the dues of public officers that are unpaid; call loudly for your attention to the ill condition of public credit, and the finances of this country; and I truſt you will not fail to pay that regard which is due to points of ſo great importance. I heartily wiſh, with regard to matters of finance, and modes of taxation, as well as to the regulation of the treaſury, to draw your attention to the admirable ſyſtems of *New York* and *Maryland*, in which laſt colony public credit is eſtabliſhed upon the firmeſt baſis; but the example of every other colony, with regard to the latter article, I am ſorry to ſay it, is better than has been yet adopted here.

You have now, gentlemen, a fair opportunity to reſtore to this province, by a law for the permanent eſtabliſhment of courts, that great ſtore of political bleſſings, ariſing from a due and regular adminiſtration of juſtice, of which I have long lamented to ſee it deprived. I have received his majeſty's determination upon the propoſed regulations with regard to proceedings by attachment, which have been the apparent cauſe of this misfortune. This I ſhall communicate to you in the courſe of your ſeſſion; and I hope it will obviate all the difficulties that have occurred on this ſubject. When the eſtabliſhment of courts ſhall come under your conſideration, you cannot fail to ſee the neceſſity of making proviſion for the judges; and the propriety of that proviſion being adequate and honourable, and ſuitable to offices of ſo high dignity and importance.

Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen of the houſe of aſſembly,

I cannot doubt that you will ſee the ſame neceſſity for ſupporting the uſual eſtabliſhment of *Fort Johnſton*, founded upon the ſame principles of public utility, that have induced you to maintain it during ſo long a ſeries of years.

Gentlemen of his majeſty's honourable council, Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen of the houſe of aſſembly,

I am ſenſible that the advanced ſeaſon of the year requires your attendance on your domeſtic affairs; and I ſhall be therefore glad to find that your unanimity in the conduct of the very important buſineſs you are now met upon, affords me opportunity to conclude your ſeſſion ſpeedily, and happily. On my part, I do aſſure you nothing ſhall be wanting to promote theſe good ends.

NEWBERN, *April* 4, 1775. JO. MARTIN.

NEW YORK, *April* 13.

WE bear from Fluſhing, Long Iſland, that on the 4th inſtant, at an annual town meeting, was choſen, with only one diſſenting voice, a deputy to meet the deputies from the other towns and counties, to form a provincial congreſs, on the 20th inſtant.

We have reaſon to believe that moſt of the townſhips, precincts, and counties, in this province, have already elected their reſpective deputies to meet here on the 20th inſtant in provincial congreſs. We have already received accounts of the elections in many places, which want of room prevents our mentioning particularly, among theſe are the whole counties of Suffolk, Orange, Ulſter, and Weſt Cheſter. In the laſt of theſe counties, it was confidently aſſerted that no deputies would be ſent; but, we hear, there was a majority for the meaſure of near five to one.

Yeſterday afternoon the King Fiſher ſloop of war weighed anchor and proceeded to the North river, in order to protect two tranſports which lately arrived here from Boſton, to take in neceſſaries for carrying on the ſiege of that place.

PHILADELPHIA, *April* 17.

A LETTER *from New York, dated the* 11th *inſtant, ſays:*

"*Captain Lawrence arrived here this afternoon in* 6 *weeks from Portſmouth, ſailed in company with a ſhip from your port. In one of the laſt papers a paragraph mentions, that lord North moved in the houſe that all American acts be ſuſpended until advice could be received from the colonies what they would give or offer towards a ſupport of government, and thoſe that proved refractory, to have the acts put vigorouſly into execution in ſuch colonies." This is the ſubſtance of the motion, but the particular wording you will find in the papers publiſhed here, which you will have by tomorrow's poſt. We are in a great meaſure in the dark, as private letters by the ſhip do not come down to ſo late a date, and captain Lawrence lay at Portſmouth when he received the paper. The houſe of commons treated the petition of the merchants very indecently; they preſented two petitions, and then their committee were called in, and one of them, who was deputed for the purpoſe, verbally waived their application, unleſs the houſe would refer their petition to the ſame committee to whom was referred the conſideration of American papers; the houſe declined doing that, and they withdrew. It alſo appears that the corporation of London were about petitioning.*

"*Captain Lawrence declares that he never ſaw the citizens of London in ſuch a ſituation, no buſineſs going forward that was perceivable, and a general apprehenſion of the conſequences to be expected from the violent meaſures intended to be put in execution by adminiſtration. It is talked of here, but I did not hear it by captain Lawrence, that lord North was, in all probability, intimidated into this motion by ſeeing a hundred thouſand people round the parliament-houſe, which I judge may be poſſible. If the corporation went in a body with their petition they doubtleſs would have a reſpectable body to attend them. It is ſurmiſed that the movements of the Spaniards might have given cauſe for this motion; be it as it may, I think it very providential that this ſuſpenſion takes place juſt at a time when we expected the ſword to be drawn. I am alſo informed the troops are ſtopped coming. Mr. Burke, towards the cloſe of a ſpirited ſpeech, declared to this effect, "that if the violent meaſures were carried into execution, he pledged himſelf that if the people would ſecond him, he would bring the authors to condign puniſhment." The proteſt of the lords againſt the addreſs to the king, I am informed, is the beſt thing ever put together; in ſhort, we have friends, and I am thankful that a door is yet open to a happy reconciliation. The joint addreſs of the lords and commons to the king, deſiring him to uſe the moſt effectual meaſures to make America ſubmit, and ſo ſoon thereafter for the miniſter to make a motion in the houſe for a ſuſpenſion of the laws, and come into nem. con. by the houſe, is a myſtery that gives me great reaſon to ſuſpect that the oſtenſible reaſon offered by lord North in the motion, is not the ſole inducement for him to make it. I do not doubt but the addreſs of the two houſes will alarm all that depend on trade and manufactures, and the diſcontent will become more general as they feel the leſs of our cuſtom."*

APRIL 27.

Extracts of letters from BOSTON, *per poſt.*

BOSTON, *April* 19, 1775.

"I HAVE taken up my pen to inform you, that laſt night, at about 11 o'clock, about 1000 of the beſt troops in a very ſecret manner embarked on board a number of boats at the bottom of the common, and went up Cambridge river and landed; in the mean time they prevented every perſon from going over the neck or any ferry. However, we ſoon found a way to get ſome men to alarm the country. From hence they marched to Lexington, where they ſaw a number of men exerciſing. They ordered them to diſperſe, and immediately fired on them, killed eight men on the ſpot, and marched to Concord. This alarmed the country ſo that it ſeemed as if men came down from the clouds. This news coming to town, the general ſent out 1000 men more, with a large train of artillery. In the mean time thoſe troops at Concord had ſet fire to the courthouſe there. We then had our men collected, ſo that an engagement immediately enſued, and the king's troops retreated very faſt, until they were reinforced with the laſt thouſand that the general ſent; but they did not ſtand long before the whole body gave way, and retreated very faſt, and our men kept up at their heels, loading and firing until they got to Charleſtown, when our men thought it not prudent to go any further, fearing the ſhips of war would be ordered to fire on Boſton and Charleſtown. They have gained a complete victory, and, by the beſt information I can get, moſt of the officers and ſoldiers are cut off. There were two waggons, one loaded with powder and ball, and the other with proviſions, guarded by 17 men and an officer, going to the army, when 6 of our men way-laid them, killed 2, and wounded 2, took the officer priſoner, and the others took to the woods, and they brought off the waggons. The engagement began about 12 o'clock, and continued until ſeven; in the mean time they retreated twenty miles. I have endeavoured to give you a few of the particulars as near as I am able, conſidering the ſituation we are in, not knowing but what the troops may have liberty to turn their revenge on us. We have now at leaſt 10,000 men round this town. It has been a moſt diſtreſſing day with us, but I pray God we may never have reaſon to be called to ſuch another."

APRIL 20.

"Yeſterday produced a ſcene the moſt ſhocking New England ever beheld. Laſt Saturday, P. M. orders were ſent to the ſeveral regiments quartered here not to let their grenadiers, or light infantry, any duty till further orders; upon which the inhabitants conjectured that ſome ſecret expedition was on foot, and being upon the look-out, they obſerved thoſe bodies on the move between 10 and 11 o'clock on Tueſday night, keeping a perfect ſilence in the march, towards the point oppoſite Phipp's farm, where boats were in waiting to convey them over. The men appointed to alarm the country on ſuch occaſions got over by ſtealth as early as the troops, and took their different routs. The firſt advice we had was about 8 o'clock in the morning, when it was reported that the troops had fired upon and killed five men in Lexington. Previous to which an officer came expreſs to his excellency general Gage, when, between 8 and 9 o'clock, a brigade marched out, under the command of earl Piercy, conſiſting of the marines, the Welch fuſileers, the 4th, 47th, and 38th regiments, and two field pieces. About 12 o'clock it was given out, by the general's aid de camp, that no perſon was killed, and that a ſingle gun had not been fired, which report was variouſly believed. But, between one and two, certain accounts came that 8 were killed outright, and 14 wound, of the inhabitants of Lexington, who had about 40 men drawn out early in the morning, near the meetinghouſe, to exerciſe. The party of the light infantry, and grenadiers, to the number of about 800, came up to them, and ordered them to diſperſe: The commander of them replied that they were innocently amuſing themſelves with exerciſe, that they had not any ammunition with them, and therefore ſhould not moleſt or diſturb them; which anſwer not ſatisfying the troops, they fired upon our men, and killed three or four; the others took to their heels, and the troops continued to fire. A few took refuge in the meeting, when the ſoldiers ſhoved up the windows, and pointed their guns in, and killed three there. Thus much is the beſt account I can learn of the beginning of the fatal day. You muſt naturally ſuppoſe that ſuch a piece of cruelty would rouſe the country, allowing the report to be true. The troops continued their march to Concord, entered the town, and refreſhed themſelves in the meeting and townhouſe. In the latter place they found ſome ammunition and ſtores blonging to the country, which finding they could not bring away, by reaſon of the country people having occupied all the poſts around them, they therefore ſet fire to the houſe, which the people extinguiſhed; they then ſet fire to it a ſecond time, which brought on a general engagement at about 12 o'clock. The troops took two